LABOR POWER

Official Organ of the Socialist Union Party

VOLUME 2 | SEPTEMBER 1940 | NUMBER 3

Fight Against Conscription Must Go On!

Should Workers Support "Lesser Evil"?

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Disillusionment at Ellwood

Popular Front and French Fascism

Who Fosters American Fascism?

Published by the Socialist Union Party,
140 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Collapse of French "Democracy"

(Concluded from Last Issue)

In the face of the French betrayal, the liberal muddleheads still continue to maintain that the present war is a "sacred crusade against Hitlerism." They find comfort in the thought that notwithstanding the French betrayal, the Churchill government resolutely spurns Hitler's "peace" overtures and carries on the war against Fascism. This view is completely false. As we have pointed out from the very beginning of this struggle, Britain fights, not Hitlerism, but Hitler—and there is a world of difference between the two.

Let no worker deceive himself again! Britain cannot be trusted to carry on the struggle against Fascism, any more than France could. It was Britain which nurtured German Fascism, helping Hitler with finances and credits to rearm and revitalize Germany as a world power. The British ruling class had the greatest admiration for Hitler's "wonderful work" in 'pacifying" Germany and maintaining "order." Winston Churchill, the plumed knight of "democracy" who is supposedly riding out to conquer the beast of Fascism, is the same gentlemen who, only two years ago, *after Munich*, told a British audience that 'I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war, I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations." *Can the workers entrust their lives and their liberties to the tender mercies of men who utter such sentiments?*

U. S. CAPITALISM NO DIFFERENT

As for American capitalism, no different attitude can be expected either. The United States Government has been hostile to Hitler because he has challenged the trade supremacy of American capitalism in Latin America. A defeat for Britain will bring serious consequences to the interests of the American imperialists. Hence the feverish attempts initiated by President Roosevelt to unite the Western Hemisphere against "Fascist aggression." Hence the nomination by both major parties of Presidential candidates who realize the "danger" and will pursue aggressive tactics to dispel it. In other words, American capitalism too is opposed to Fascism only because and insofar as it interferes with American economic interests.

The M-Day moves of the administration show that the American rulers are no more opposed to totalitarianism than any of their European counterparts. The issue for them today is not "Democracy versus Fascism' but "American trade supremacy versus German trade supremacy." It would take only a small change in present circumstances to demonstrate this beyond the shadow of a doubt. Let the workers of France, or Britain, or Germany make any moves in the direction of proletarian revolution, and the American capitalist class will hasten to bury its differences with Hitler, with Japan and with every other fascist force, and to form a 'holy alliance" against the working class in its struggle for freedom. American capitalism, like every other exploiting class, is not interested in democracy; it is only concerned with maintaining its own existence and preserving its power and its profits!

SOCIALISM ALONE FIGHTS FASCISM

The treacherous surrender of France to the forces of German Fascism gives the lie once and for all to the pretensions of the British and American warmongers that this is something more than an Imperialist war between rival camps of capitalist bandits! It reveals clearly that there is no fight here between Fascism and Democracy, but only between competitors who wish to capture the world's markets and sources of raw materials!

It answers once and for all, in thunderous accents, the burning question: who fights Hitlerism? It bears out the incessant contention of the Socialist Union Party and every revolutionary Marxist that Capitalism, the breeder of Fascism, is incapable of fighting Fascism and that the workers can entrust the so-called Democratic capitalist nations with this task only at the peril of their own liberties.

In the present stage of capitalist degeneration there are only two alternatives before society: Fascism or Socialism!

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Published Monthly by the
SOCIALIST UNION PARTY
140 Fourth Ave.
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Subscription: — Per Year, 50c; Semi-Annually, 25c; Single Copy, 5c.
Composed & Printed by Voluntary Labor

Vol. 2, No. 3 **September, 1940**

Editorials . . .

THE FIGHT MUST GO ON!

By the time this editorial reaches the reader peacetime military conscription will have become a reality in the United States, breaking a precedent as old as the nation itself. As we go to press the Senate has already passed the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill and there is general agreement that the House will follow suit shortly.

There remains only one uncertainty. The Senate version of the Bill limits registration to the age classification of 21 to 31 years, whereas the measure pending in the House raises the age limit to 45 years.

Regardless of what form the final bill will take, the passage of peacetime conscription constitutes a defeat of major proportions for the American labor movement and a giant step forward in the Hitlerization of the country.

All is not lost however. In the dark cloud that has encompassed the future of the working class, a silver lining still remains. Labor has shown that it is alive to the dangers of totalitarianism and that it has the *will* to combat this menace. Despite the attempt of the capitalist press to minimize its far-reaching extent, it was largely the united opposition of the labor movement that defeated the well-laid plan of the Roosevelt Administration and its reactionary allies in the Senate chamber and outside to regiment the entire working class under the pretense of making adequate military preparations for defense.

The final passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill however, even in its modified form, serves to bring home the fact that the *will* to combat totalitarianism, commendable and essential as it is, is not sufficient to assure success. To defeat the onrushing wave of Fascist reaction it is necessary to crystallize this opposition into a concrete organized form that will bring into play the economic power and might of the working class.

If our fast-vanishing civil liberties are not to become entirely extinct it behooves the Labor movement to launch an organized campaign in their defense. The forces of reaction are organized to act in concert, as was strikingly revealed during the Senate debate on the Burke-Wadsworth Bill. Labor can hope to counteract the force of this organization only by gathering its own forces at once. Such organization, to be effective, calls for a united labor movement.

As a first step towards such unity, local Action Committees, representing all sections of labor, should be set up to co-ordinate the struggle against Fascist reaction. These committees should lose no time in taking affirma-

LEON TROTSKY

Statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Union Party on the Assassination of Leon Trotsky at Coyoacan, Mexico.

The bloody arm of Stalin has at long last succeeded in striking down the co-leader and organizer of the October Revolution.

The Socialist Union Party, despite its well-known basic differences with Leon Trotsky, joins with his comrades of the Socialist Workers Party in mourning the tragic and untimely passing of one of the greatest fighters for proletarian emancipation of our epoch. We condemn with loathing and revulsion his foul murderer, the butcher Stalin.

Trotsky's memory will live in the hearts of workers everywhere long after his Stalinist traducers and defamers are forgotten.

Trotsky is dead. The workers' struggle for emancipation to which he gave "The last full measure of devotion" marches on. Its victory will be his greatest monument.

—*Abraham Ziegler, National Sec'y.*

tive and concrete action to dramatize their struggle and to break down the capitalist press conspiracy which seeks to minimize labor's opposition to the Administration's march toward totalitarianism.

Instead of being confined to sending telegrams and letters, issuing statements and carrying on conventional political lobbying, the activities of these Committees should be broadened out by launching a *mass* struggle. Gigantic protest demonstrations and parades should be organized, backed up by the distribution of tons of literature and the widespread use of the radio. Above all, labor's invincible economic power must be brought into play by organizing protest stoppages and workers' "holidays" whenever capitalism makes another move along the Fascist road.

Mass protests and the exercise of economic pressure will not of themselves stop Fascism, to be sure, but they can serve in a measure to break the hold of the lying capitalist press on the minds of the backward workers as well as to galvanize the workers into action against the capitalist class.

Serious as is the advent of peacetime military conscription to the working class of America, it may yet prove a boomerang to its Fascist proponents if it succeeds in awakening the workers to a realization of the grim fate that is in store for them, and if this awakening is followed by a united labor opposition which uses labor's invincible economic power to strike back at the reaction!

The fight must go on!

Disillusionment at Ellwood

With his speech at Elwood, formally accepting the Republican nomination for President, Wendell Willkie opened the 1940 campaign of the parties of capitalism. The speech had been preceded by a great build-up by the Republican press, ballyhooing the ex-utility magnate as the new Moses who would lead the country out of the New Deal wilderness.

Wide sections of the population, thoroughly fed up with the unperformed promises of the New Deal and aware of its bankruptcy, turned eagerly toward Elwood in the hope that Willkie would emerge from his carefully built shell of glamour with a program for a way out of their miseries.

NEW MOSES HAS FEET OF CLAY

The acceptance address, which the Willkie supporters predicted would be a "masterpiece of statesmanship" proved to be a complete dud. The multitude which gathered at Elwood to hail top capitalism's new Messiah were treated to a success story of the barefoot boy who climbed the ladder to fame in the traditional "American way." Dragged in by the hair was a reference to Willkie's ancestry of German revolutionists of 1848, who came here to escape the tyranny of Marx's Germany. All this excess baggage was piled on in an attempt to efface from the minds of his listeners the picture of Willkie as the representative of Wall Street and the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. But, most astonishing of all was Willkie's program, or rather, lack of program; for he asked the American voters to elect him on nothing more than a promise of warmed-over New Dealism, while at the same time seconding Roosevelt's pro-war policies and conscription plans.

Dealing with questions of foreign policy, Willkie made a particularly demagogic play to the galleries, after echoing the President's sentiments, by denouncing Roosevelt as a warmonger who was indulging in "inflammatory remarks" against foreign powers which threaten to plunge the country into war! This charge, coming from the mouth of one who only a short few months before was urging that the President inquire of England and France what they wanted in the way of help, thus indicating his desire that the United States come to their aid, is a fair indication of the Republican candidate's lack of scruples.

WILLKIE "ME TOO" NEW DEALER

It was Willkie's stand on domestic policies that provided the high points of the acceptance speech. As was to be expected, the G. O. P. choice did not spare the whip in lashing out

against the New Deal administration and its "self-evident bankruptcy." But instead of bringing forward a positive program in opposition, Willkie soon made it clear to his amazed hearers that he was by no means opposed to the "reforms" of the New Deal in principle. In fact he pledged himself if elected to continue the major social legislation of his opponent, but to administer them in a manner more satisfactory to his capitalist backers. In some points the candidate even repudiated his own party's program, as, for example, when Willkie pledged to continue the W. P. A. and direct relief by the Federal government in opposition to the Philadelphia platform of the Republican Party which calls for the return of relief to the states.

What Willkie is offering the country is the same old New Deal, but with a new croupier shuffling the cards. In place of the golden radio voice of the "great humanitarian" we are being offered the photogenic smile of the Wall Street glamour boy. Should Willkie be elected and Tweedledum replace Tweedledee, then the workers will learn to their sorrow that no matter what party label a politician wears, or what charming personal characteristics he boasts, no capitalist representative is capable of solving the social question facing the country.

CAPITALISM "THE REAL VILLIAN"!

The failure of the latest Republican wonder boy to come to grips with the basic social ills afflicting the country comes as no surprise to the class conscious workers who have long known that the impotence of the New Deal is merely a manifestation of the larger and more fundamental degeneracy of the capitalist system itself.

The chronic crisis in which capitalism is enveloped is no accidental phenomenon; least of all is it to be blamed upon the shortcomings of any particular capitalist politician. The periodic economic depressions and imperialist wars that curse our present historical epoch are the direct product of the contradictions of a social order in which social production by the great majority is carried on for the private profit of a tiny minority of property holders.

The quest for profits and the stimulus of international competition drives the capitalist class in every single country to ever greater efforts to improve and perfect the machinery of production. This continuous technological drive results in the displacement of more and more workers from industry, while at the very same time it increases production to the point where the domestic market cannot absorb all the goods produced. The capitalists are compelled to look abroad for foreign markets to dispose of their surplus. In the rivalry of all capitalist nations for markets, sources of raw materials and colonies to exploit, we have the cause of modern war, and specifically the reason for the present imperialist conflagration now raging throughout the world.

THE NO CONFIDENCE FRAUD

Here too, we have the incontrovertible answer to the big business supporters of Willkie who have been busy propagating the fiction that the depression has been unnecessarily prolonged because "investment capital lacks confidence" in the government of President Roosevelt. For even if the New Deal is defeated and "investment capital" comes out of hiding to turn the wheels of industry once more at full capacity, where are the new markets to be found which will be capable of absorbing the additional surpluses that such capacity production will create? Not on this earth, to be sure. Thus the only alternative is to take some of the old markets from the rival capitalists of other countries—and that is exactly what American capitalism is preparing to do. Nor does this job require a Willkie—President Roosevelt is proving himself quite capable of leading the country into war for the control of more markets by American imperialism.

WILLKIE—STANDARD BEARER OF WAR AND FASCISM

Far from being a new Messiah, Willkie, just like his opponent Roosevelt, is the standard bearer of reaction and Fascism. In a world of growing social chaos, the Willkie forces of top-capitalism are attempting to distract attention from the basic issue of the bankruptcy of capitalism by reducing the campaign to the low level of comparing rival political personalities.

The present campaign presents the American working class with a historic alternative: either it has the courage to break with the outworn and dying system which is crushing

it, and go forward to Socialism and a propertyless and warless world, or it stands back and permits the world to be plunged into chaos—into Fascism and a new era of dark ages.

VOTE FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD

Fellow Workers: Don't waste your ballot by voting for the twin candidates of capitalism. Show the capitalist exploiters that you prefer a social order in which you are assured of peace, plenty and security. Take the first step by casting your ballot for the Socialist Union Party, to register your opposition to the miseries with which capitalism afflicts you.

But the ballot merely expresses your desire. To insure its fulfillment you must organize together with all your fellow workers into industrial and political organizations which will crystallize the power of the working class and render it invincible in the struggle for emancipation.

The restrictions of capitalist election laws prevent the name of the Socialist Union Party from appearing on the ballot. We urge all class conscious workers to vote against capitalism and for Socialism by marking on their ballots the name of the Socialist Union Party.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Second in intensity only to the pro-British war drive has been the incessant campaign conducted by press, radio and government agencies for unity, solidarity and co-operation among the American countries. Spokesmen of this movement have echoed and re echoed that the reason for all this "good-neighborliness' is to protect and uphold "the principles of democracy" and the "democratic way of life" against the danger of Fascism, internal or external.

But all this palaver about democracy shows up as pure falsehood when one examines the economic and political set up and conditions in Latin America. For the greatest part of Latin America is as innocent of democracy as a new born babe of teeth. Although most of the republics have very pretty constitutions which provide for universal suffrage, civil liberties and the right of labor to organize, these documents are treated as things of beauty and unsuited for everyday use. Nearly every one of the states is ruled by military dictators, who were "elected" by armed insurrection, confiscation of the ballot boxes or self declarations of permanent presidency.

But if the beautiful bubble of "democracy" is exploded, why all the furore for co-operation and supervision over our "good neighbors" by the U. S.? The answer may be found, not in the publicized accounts of the Pan-American conferences, but in the actual discussions and steps taken at these conferences. At the recent Havana Pan-American conference held last June, the most significant action was the adoption of the resolution on Economic Co-operation. "The meeting resolves . . . to declare that it is more desirable and necessary than ever to establish a close and sincere co-operation between the American republics *in order that they may protect their economic and financial structure, maintain their fiscal equilibrium, safeguard the stability of their currencies, promote and expand their industries, intensify their agriculture, and develop their commerce.*" (Our emphasis.)

YANKEE IMPERIALISM'S STAKE

Translated into simple language this means that the United States, which was the principal force behind the adoption of this resolution, insists on maintaining and increasing its present economic hold on Latin America. The United States Department of Commerce has estimated that the total of American direct investments in Latin America amounted to $2,847,000,000, distributed chiefly among the following interests:

Communications and Utilities	$937,125,000
Mining and Smelting	708,194,000
Petroleum	452,561,000
Agriculture	400,449,000
Manufacture	191,789,000
Distribution	99,996,000
Miscellaneous	56,887,000

These amounts have been vastly increased since the date of this estimate by the expansion of the second Export-Import Bank. Up to the present time this agency has made over one hundred million dollars of credits available to Latin American governments and busi-

ness. The fact that over 85% of previous loans made are in default has not deterred the Administration from demanding even greater sums to loan out, because the resulting increased business more than repays the American capitalist class. Exports to Latin America at the end of 1939 showed an increase of 77.2% over 1932.

PREPARING FOR NAZI VICTORY

Many people will ask, "Why does the U. S. suddenly find it so necessary to bolster its inter-American trade to such an unprecedented extent?" The answer is found in the fact that the main products of Latin America —corn, sugar, wheat and cattle—compete on the world market with the products of U. S. capitalism. As a result the tendency in the past was for the Latin American countries to import from those countries to which it exported. Even now the U. S. takes only one-third of Latin American exports, Europe taking more than half. In the event of a German victory in Europe therefore, Hitler would be in a position to drive the U. S. completely out of the South American market and perhaps gain military concessions in exchange for favorable trading terms.

The capitalists of the United States are afraid of a potential German trade drive which would mean business disaster for a country which has increasingly become a creditor or export nation. All the excitement resolves itself into the proposition that American capitalism is solely and supremely interested in preserving its economic interests in Latin America and increasing its inter-American trade to offset any potential loss in business due to a possible German victory. That is why the Administration is pouring money into South America and is preaching the doctrine that all the American countries follow the lead of the U. S. in international policies.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM MUST GO!

Let the American people beware! When Hull speaks of "democracy" he means capitalist profits; by "preservation of the American way of life" he means preservation of those profits, ensuring their continuation at the price of exploitation, wage-slavery and even bloodshed for the American and Latin American peoples.

—Carolyn Scott

Should Workers Support "Lesser Evil"?

Today the greatest danger confronting the cause of labor arises, not from the camp of its known enemy, capitalism, but from within its own ranks. Once again, as in the First World War, the voices of the "social-patriots" are heard in frantic pleas to labor to forget the class struggle, to support the cause of British and American "democratic" imperialism in their struggle against German "fascist' imperialism.

Since the experience of 1917 and the rapacious Versailles "Peace" Treaty, it is no longer possible to palm off British imperialism as a paragon of Democracy. But the servitors of the ruling class no longer find this necessary. With disarming frankness, they now readily concede that British and American imperialism are by no means the most desirable regimes possible. Nevertheless, they hold, the defeat of the British Empire and of the United States by Germany would mean the triumph of unbridled reaction. Therefore, in order to preserve what little real democracy we have, the social patriots would have us support what they maintain is the "lesser" of the two evils.

Superficially viewed, this argument appears to be based on reason and logic, and many workers have been and continue to be won over to the support of imperialism by it. In practice, however, the policy of supporting the "lesser" evil has proved to be a death-trap. As the workers who succumbed to its seeming logic have discovered, the "lesser" evil is not lesser at all, but in fact even greater. For, having once deluded the workers into supporting it and abandoning independent working class action, the "democratic" regime is able to turn them over to the bondage of fascism with so much the greater ease.

THE "LESSER" EVIL IN GERMANY

One or two examples from recent history should serve to remind the working class of the real nature of the so-called "lesser" evil. In the last days of the Weimar Republic, the Social Democracy of Germany brought the slogan to its highest currency in the struggle against Hitler. In the Presidential campaign of 1932 the Social Democracy refrained from entering a candidate, and the even more powerful Trade Union leadership refused to run an independent working class nominee, throwing the support of the great majority of the workers who followed them to the candidacy of Von Hindenburg, the representative of the conservative capitalists and the feudal junkers, and ostensibly opposed to Hitler and his fascist doctrines. According to the Social Democracy, the victory of Von Hindenburg would be the "lesser" evil.

The results are well known. The support of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union leadership assured the victory of Von Hindenburg over Hitler. *But within a few short months this "lesser" evil in the person of President Von Hindenburg proceeded voluntarily to turn over the reins of government to Hitler and his barbaric followers.* While Hitler exterminated the labor movement, Von Hindenburg and the rest of the forces of German "Democracy" looked on complacently. Thus did the forces of the "lesser" evil reward the workers who were misguided enough to support it!

BETRAYAL IN FRANCE

This tragic betrayal of the German working class can by no means be regarded as exceptional. In France the workers also permitted themselves to be seduced by the siren voices of those who spoke of the "lesser" evil. They were induced to give up independent working class action in favor of capitalist "National Unity" as the "only" means of defeating German Fascism. But the French ruling class, like its German counterpart, proceeded to repay the loyalty of the workers by selling them out to Hitler and fascist enslavement. Today the French workers are paying the penalty for their abandonment of the class struggle.

NO CHOICE BETWEEN EVILS

The workers who refuse to accept the glib arguments of the social-patriots are asked: "Do you prefer a free labor movement and the survival of democratic processes or do you wish to see Hitler victorious and the entire working class in chains"?

But this is precisely the same question that was asked in turn of the German and the French workers! The tragic fate of these workers is the proof that following the chimera of the "lesser" evil brings, not salvation, but only defeat! Yet the American and the British workers are being asked to follow this same fatal course!

For the workers there can be no question of a choice between evils. Their task is to get at the basic evil out of which all other evils flow—the capitalist system itself! The fight against fascism is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism. Those who think to destroy Fascism without at the same time destroying capitalism are tilting at windmills.

CAPITALISM BREEDS FASCISM

Fascism is not a separate and independent phenomenon—an invention of the devil or of a madman—as some of capitalism's apologists would have us believe. Fascism is the product of decadent and rotting capitalism, the means by which it maintains its last hold on life. The bankruptcy of capitalist production, the chronic economic crisis in the various countries have been the fertile breeding ground of the forces of Fascism throughout the world.

The imperialist war now raging is bound to complete this chaos and to intensify the misery and privation of the masses no matter which side wins. In this world of growing capitalist disintegration and social chaos there is no longer any room for capitalist democracy! Fascism, the iron subjugation of the workers, is the only means by which the ruling classes can maintain their power or even their existence.

Upon the working class devolves the task of conducting the only real fight against Fascism, the fight for the destruction of the system which breeds it. Only the working class has everything to lose and nothing to gain from the victory of Fascism. That is why the working class must maintain its independent class forces and reject all proposals for "National Unity" which imply the abandonment of their struggle against capitalism.

ONLY THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION CAN DESTROY FASCISM!

ORGANIZE FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD!

Popular Front and French Fascism

The official pronouncements of the new Petain-Laval Fascist regime in France came as a shock to most Americans. Down to the last minute, the American capitalist press had kept alive the fiction that France remained a "Democracy" engaged in the struggle against Hitlerism. The truth is that the official mummery at Vichy which marked the ostensible launching of the Fascist regime was in the nature of an anti-climax. It merely gave juridical recognition to an accomplished fact—for France had already been virtually Fascist for almost two years, ever since Daladier was given decree powers late in 1938.

FRENCH FASCISM A GROWTH

Fascism in France did not spring up full-grown overnight, as the surprised tone of the American press would seem to indicate. The flowering of French Fascism can be traced back to the fiasco of the Popular Front regime which ruled France from June, 1936 to April, 1938. It is the irony of history that the defenders of "Democratic" capitalism should attempt to fasten on the Popular Front the responsibility for the French disaster. In truth, it was precisely the Popular Front which saved French capitalism from revolution and overthrow in one of its darkest hours, the period of the revolutionary stay-in strikes in May and June, 1936.

SAVED FRANCE AND EUROPE

Yet, the Popular Front *is* responsible for the triumph of Fascism today; not because it undermined the "National Unity" of France as its bourgeois critics charge, but, on the contrary, because it broke the working class militancy and solidarity of the sit-in strikers of 1936 and sent them back to continue a hopeless struggle for existence under a rotting capitalist regime. If anything, the bourgeoise should be thankful to the Popular Front, for without it they would not be here to complain today, and the political situation in Europe would have been completely different. Fascism would not be in the ascendancy!

An understanding of the historical role of the Popular Front is vital to the American workers in their struggle against Fascism in this country; to ignore the lessons of its experiences is to court the same disaster as that which overwhelmed the unfortunate French workers. Let us review the history of this singular political phenomenon.

FRANCE IN CRISIS

The Popular Front was the French version of the American New Deal. It was a product of the same social forces of economic depression and growing mass discontent. The world-wide depression on which began in 1929 did not seriously affect France until much later, but when it arrived, it struck with redoubled force.

Unemployment increased at an alarming rate. Wages of employed workers were slashed, with no appreciable cut in the cost of living. Pensions for ex-soldiers as well as relief allowances were drastically reduced. Taxes kept on mounting, becoming an intolerable burden on the middle class and peasantry. The deepening crisis and the worse living standards created a growing feeling of discontent among the workers and the middle classes.

The climax came in February, 1934, with the Stavisky Pawnshop bankruptcy scandal in which a number of prominent politicians were implicated. Popular indignation and discontent flowed over, and giant demonstrations against the government and the politicians took place in the streets of Paris. The French Fascist leagues, with powerful connections in the army and among prominent industrialists, injected themselves into these demonstrations in an attempt to stage a coup against parliamentary government. Their efforts failed, but it was now apparent that Fascism was a threat not to be dismissed lightly.

The leadership of the principal working class political bodies, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, with the example before them of the recent triumph of Hitler in Germany and his destruction of the German labor movement, were panic-stricken. A

hasty political truce was patched up and a pact formulated for a united front. The Radical Socialist Party (equivalent to Roosevelt's New Deal Democratic Party here) representing the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, was "prevailed" upon to join this movement to "fight Fascism." Thus was born the Popular Front, a political coalition between the workers' parties and the bourgeois democrats for the purpose of preserving "Democracy."

The adherence of the Radical Socialist Party to the Popular Front was no act of altruism. "Democracy" had an entirely different meaning for them than for their working class allies. To the Radicals, preserving democracy meant protecting the vested property rights of capitalism, which were being endangered at the moment not by the fascists but by the workers themselves. The lessons of the February demonstrations had not been lost on the wily politicians of the Radical Socialist Party.

By taking to the streets and by their rising political temperature afterward, the workers had demonstrated their loss of confidence in was undergoing a severe economic strain and it was necessary to cajole the workers into bearing even greater burdens. With the old line politicians discredited, the delicate task of holding the workers in check and inducing them to co-operate in the "national" interest could only be accomplished by the Socialist and Communist leaders who now alone had the confidence of the masses.

A Socialist-Radical government, spouting Socialist phrases, but ruling for and protecting the interests of the capitalist class, was the only way to avoid the danger of revolution.

As far as the Socialist and Communist Parties were concerned, the class struggle was abandoned. Fascism, not the capitalist system as a whole, was declared to be the main enemy of the working class. All lovers of liberty were called upon to support the Popular Front against the "200 Families" who ruled France and who were allegedly strangling democracy.

the capitalist politicians and their old shib boleths. This, too, at a time when the nation

SCORES BIG VICTORIES

The Popular Front, in its first real test, scored a sensational electoral victory in the May, 1936 elections, capturing the overwhelming majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party, was immediately designated to form a Popular Front cabinet to take office in June. This victory was hailed throughout the world by all the middleheaded liberals, reformist Socialists and collective-security Communists as a tremendous victory over Fascism.

Only the revolutionary Marxists failed to join in the chorus of acclaim. We pointed out from the very first that the Popular Front was but another form of class collaboration with the enemy which must inevitably lead to the betrayal and undoing of the working class. The proof was furnished almost immediately.

REVOLUTIONARY "STAY-IN" STRIKES

Leon Blum's ministry took office on June 1st, in the midst of a tremendous stay in strike movement. This struggle, in the course of three weeks, had already embraced some 2 million workers and had completely paralized French industry. Nor was it an ordinary struggle based on the acceptance of the capitalist status quo. The French workers locked out their employers and took possession of the factories, thus striking at the very root of bourgeois society—the right of private property. The workers had placed themselves outside the pale of capitalist legality. France was face to face with social revolution!

The capitalist class stood by helpless, not daring to take the offensive and have the strikers evicted. The American journalist, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, telling the story in the *Survey Graphic*, (Nov. 1936) wrote: "It was a revolutionary situation if there ever was one. . . . Since then and at the time Leon Blum has been soundly berated for 'tolerating illegality.' But the Cabinet members explained the mystery by telling the Senate that the terrified owners had begged the Government to keep its hands off lest the plants be harmed." This is corroborated by the testimony of the employers themselves. According to an A. P. dispatch from Paris on July 14th, Rene Arnault, Secretary of the

Confederation of French Industrialists, stated that "France was like a floor of a powder factory. A few isolated strikes in the metal industry, and then, poof! strikes spread over the whole country. Once it had begun the Blum government could not have enforced evacuation of the factories even if it had desired to do so. It would have been revolution pure and simple."

(*To Be Concluded*)

Who Fosters American Fascism?

From what quarter does the greatest menace of Fascism in the United States arise? Is it from Father Coughlin or the host of other lesser fry who from time to time have cast themselves in the role of American Fuehrers, that the workers have most to fear? By no means.

"EUROPEAN" FASCISM FAILS HERE

The real Fascist threat in this country does not lie in the multitude of avowed Fascist groups and organizations that have sprung up in recent years. In making this statement we do not for one moment seek to minimize the baleful influence of these Fifth-Columnist allies and agents of Hitlerism or their poisonous propaganda. The fact of the matter is, however, that up to this time the "leadership" principle of European Fascism, which these groups expound, has fallen on barren soil in the United States. Opposed as it is to the traditions of "democracy" and "individual liberty" which have been long and deeply imbedded in American consciousness the "leadership" principle with its openly proclaimed negation of democracy has met great difficulties in attracting a wide mass support here.

CAPITALISM THE DANGER

No, it is to a far different source that we must look for our real Fascist threat.

Incredible and fantastic as it may seem, the chief force for Fascism in the United States at the present moment is to be found in the White House. It is smiling and genial Franklin D. Roosevelt himself, the friend of the Forgotten Man, who qualifies for this dubious honor.

As President of the United States, Roosevelt is the official guardian of the interests of the capitalist class which rules the nation. In the present crisis of world capitalism these interests demand the imposition of totalitarian dictatorship over the workers as the only means by which American capitalism can fight against and conquer its European rivals. Every move of the President in the past year, therefore, has been directed toward unifying the country by Fascist regimentation in order to prepare for this struggle.

The promulgation of the notorious M-Day Plan, the registration of aliens, the conscription of youth are all moves along the path toward totalitarianism which were initiated either directly or indirectly by the President. But these measures do not even begin to satisfy the needs of the ruling class. Therefore the Administration has begun the job of ideologically preparing the minds of the American workers to accept blindly whatever further steps toward regimentation the President may take.

SCUTTLING DEMOCRACY FOR "LEADERSHIP"

On the evening of August 18th, William C. Bullitt, American Ambassador to France, delivered over a nationwide hookup a political address of far-reaching significance. Mr. Bullitt spoke fresh from a prolonged White House conference, and his address was approved by the State Department both in advance and after it was made. Thus it was in every sense an official statement by the Roosevelt Administration.

Ostensibly Bullitt's address dealt with the imminent danger of a Hitler invasion of the Western Hemisphere and the need to prepare immediately to meet this danger. The real substance of the speech, however, was a most subtle and insidious attack on democracy and democratic processes.

Speaking first of the collapse of France, the Ambassador explained this catastrophe by the assertion that *the French people enjoyed too much democracy and individual liberty!* Here is Mr. Bullitt's exact language: ". . . In

the name of the preservation of individual liberty, the national liberty of France was condemned in advance to destruction." In other words the best way to save democracy, apparently, is first to destroy it!

Mr. Bullitt went even further in his attack on democratic rights. He told his audience point blank that in the present world crisis the "average citizen" is incapable of understanding and judging what is best for the country. Once more we quote:

"Control of government by public opinion is the essence of democracy. And it has always been our belief that free speech and a free press and free education would enable us to form and express our opinions sufficiently swiftly not only to permit but to compel our government to act quickly and effectively. But the problems of world affairs have become so complex, in this day of volcanic change, that the average citizen has the greatest difficulty in understanding them and judging what is best for his country before it is too late"!

HITLER OVER JEFFERSON

The conclusions to be drawn from Mr. Bullitt's address are, first, that democratic rights and individual liberty are *passe*, since they spell defeat for the nation which permits them and secondly, that the need of the hour is for a Fuehrer, a Great Leader, capable of judging what is best for the people. To be sure, Mr. Bullitt did not himself draw these conclusions, but they flow inevitably from his words.

It should not escape attention that in setting up this irreconcilable conflict between individual liberty and "national" liberty, Bullitt repudiates the basic teachings of the founding fathers of this country. Above all things Jefferson, Madison and the other founding fathers, and after them Lincoln, held that true national liberty can only be preserved by fostering and extending individual liberties.

The very essence of the Fascist philosophy lies in the assertion that Fascist "leadership" is necessary because the masses are incapable of thinking for themselves and so stand in need of a Fuehrer who will think for them. Likewise, it is precisely the Fascists who hold that individual liberty must be surrendered in favor of "National" independence. Yet it is these very arguments that Ambassador Bullitt put forward in behalf of his White House master, as means to combat Hitler and Fascism!

WILLKIE SECONDS ROOSEVELT!

Roosevelt does not stand alone. His G. O. P. opponent Wendell Willkie is equally tarred with the same Fascist brush!

As a matter of fact, even today, when Willkie and his capitalist class backers are attempting to pin the label of "Dictator" on Roosevelt for purposes of political expediency, they make common cause with him in every important move he has made toward Fascism. Should Willkie be elected in place of Roosevelt, he will lose no time in following in the footsteps of his predecessor along the path of totalitarian dictatorship.

We repeat—it is not the avowed and open Fascists who are the greatest menace. It is not they who have created the fake Fifth Column war hysteria, who prosecute labor unions under the guise of anti-trust action, who foisted alien registration and now military conscription in peacetime on the American working class. It is Roosevelt, "anti-Fascist" Roosevelt, who carries on this devastating campaign against civil liberties and democracy. And now it is the same Roosevelt who is sending out trial ballons urging upon the workers of America the acceptance of the Fascist "leadership" concept. Let not the workers be deceived. The fact that American Fascism disingenuously sheds the revolting outer garments of European Fascism, such as anti-Semitism, the *disdain* of democracy, etc., does not deprive it of its essential anti-working class character. It still spells totalitarian enslavement for labor.

SOCIALISM ALONE FIGHTS FASCISM

Today, the workers must understand, every capitalist politician necessarily must move closer and closer to Fascism, no matter how anti-Fascist his pretensions, because he is serving the capitalist class which can only preserve its privileges and its power by subduing and chaining the working class.

There is only one way to fight Fascism and that is to strike at capitalism at its roots. Only the social revolution can save humanity from the scourge of Fascism. It is up to the working class!

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